

Message Text

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /016 R

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DRAFTED BY: ACDA/ISP:RNURICK:OJF

APPROVED BY:ACDA/ISP:DCLINARD

S/S-O:KDSCO TT

-----035168 240253Z /70

P 240105Z JUN 78

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

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S E C R E T STATE 161470

EXDIS USSALTTWO

FOLLOWING REPEAT LONDON 9770 ACTION SECSTATE INFO PARIS
BONN USNATO DATED JUN 20:

QTE: C O N F I D E N T I A L LONDON 9770

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: SALT

SUBJECT: SALT AND GREY AREA SYSTEMS

SUMMARY: THE STRATEGIC DEBATE WHICH OPENED, OR AT LEAST
SURFACED, WITH CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT'S IISS SPEECH OF LAST
YEAR HAS TENDED TO FOCUS ATTENTION ON HARDWARE OR NEGO-
TIATED SOLUTIONS TO AN ALLEGED EUROSTRATEGIC IMBALANCE.
THIS MESSAGE SUGGESTS THAT FURTHER ATTENTION BE GIVEN TO
INSTITUTIONAL STEPS WHICH, IN HELPING MEET FRG CONCERNS,
CAN CONTRIBUTE TO A RESOLUTION OF THE CURRENT IMPASSE
AMONG OUR EUROPEAN ALLIES IN THE GREY AREA ISSUE. WE
WOULD WELCOME COMMENT FROM OTHER POSTS ON THE PRELIMINARY

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IDEAS WE PUT FORTH BELOW AND ANY INDICATION ON THE STATE
OF WASHINGTON'S THINKING ON THIS SUBJECT.

1. SEEN FROM LONDON, THE GREY AREA PROBLEM SEEMS LARGELY
TO REVOLVE AROUND FRG ATTITUDES. ITS SOLUTION THUS
WOULD SEEM TO BE FOUND IN SOME DEVICE FOR SATISFYING AND
REASSURING THE WEST GERMANS. NEITHER THE FRENCH NOR

BRITISH WANT NEGOTIATIONS ON GREY AREA SYSTEMS, NEITHER THE U.S. NOR THE USSR WOULD SEEM TO HAVE ANY CLEAR INTEREST SERVED BY THEM. ONLY THE GERMANS, THE SOLE MAJOR POWER WITHOUT NUCLEAR WEAPONS, HAVE A PERSUASIVE MOTIVATION TO SUPPORT SUCH NEGOTIATIONS. CONSIDERATION OF HOW TO RESPOND TO THE ISSUES POSED BY THE FRG HAS TENDED TO FOCUS ON THE POSSIBILITY OF INITIATING SOME SORT OF GREY AREA NEGOTIATION, IN OR OUT OF SALT, AND/OR THE DEPLOYMENT OF SOME NEW THEATER STRATEGIC SYSTEM (E.G., GLCMS) IN THE FRG.

2. WITHOUT ARGUING THE MERITS OF EITHER OF THESE ALTERNATIVES, WE WONDER WHETHER CONSIDERATION SHOULD NOT ALSO BE GIVEN TO THE POSSIBILITIES OF AN INSTITUTIONAL RESPONSE TO THE GREY AREA PROBLEM. IS THERE SOME INSTITUTIONAL DEVICE WHICH CAN MEET, IN PART OR AT LEAST, THE FRG'S CONCERNS FOR THE PRESERVATION OF ITS INTERESTS IN SALT III? WE RECALL THAT A PRECEDENT EXISTS FOR AN INSTITUTIONAL RESPONSE TO A SOMEWHAT SIMILAR PROBLEM, THE SOLUTION OF WHICH HAD INITIALLY BEEN CONCEIVED IN HARDWARE TERMS. THIS IS THE NPG, A FORUM DESIGNED TO GIVE THE FRG A SENSE OF PARTICIPATION IN NUCLEAR DECISION-MAKING, A NEED WHICH THE MLF HAD BEEN DESIGNED TO PROVIDE.

3. ONE IDEA WHICH OCCURS TO US IS THE POSSIBLE CREATION
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OF A NEW NATO BODY, RESTRICTED LIKE THE NPG, THE FUNCTION OF WHICH WOULD BE TO COORDINATE A WESTERN POSITION IN SALT III ON ISSUES OF PARTICULARLY EUROPEAN CONCERN (E.G. CRUISE MISSILE LIMITS). MEMBERSHIP MIGHT BE LIMITED TO THOSE ALLIES WITH NUCLEAR WEAPONS ON THEIR TERRITORIES, PLUS SOME SORT OF ROTATING PARTICIPATION FOR THE REST. THE CREATION OF SUCH A BODY NEED IN NO WAY COMMIT THE USG

TO NEGOTIATIONS ON GREY AREA SYSTEMS. IT IS INDEED POSSIBLE THAT THE EDUCATIVE PROCESS CONDUCTED IN SUCH A FORUM MIGHT CONVINCE THE FRG AND OTHERS THAT THEIR INTERESTS WERE SERVED BY MINIMIZING THE INVOLVEMENT OF SUCH SYSTEMS IN SALT OR OTHER NEGOTIATIONS.

4. THE FRG WAS GROPING FOR SUCH A FORUM WHEN IT PROPOSED FOUR POWER CONSULTATIONS ON SALT IN DECEMBER. THAT IDEA CAME TO LITTLE BECAUSE OF FRENCH OBJECTIONS, AND BECAUSE OF THE INABILITY OF SEVERAL OF THE GOVERNMENTS CONCERNED TO KEEP THE EXISTENCE OF SUCH CONSULTATIONS CONFIDENTIAL. A RESTRICTED NATO FORUM MIGHT ALSO ENCOUNTER FRENCH OBJECTIONS BUT THE FACT THAT SUCH A CONSULTATIVE MECHANISM EXISTED COULD AT LEAST BE OPENLY

ACKNOWLEDGED.

5. A SECOND SUGGESTION FOR AN INSTITUTIONAL RESPONSE TO SOME ASPECTS OF THE GREY AREA PROBLEM HAS COME TO US FROM AN INDEPENDENT, RESPECTED LONDON-BASED EXPERT. THIS IS A PROPOSAL FOR A "NATO ASSESSMENT CENTER." THE ARGUMENT FOR SUCH A CENTER STEMS FROM THE BELIEF THAT THE PRESENT ALMOST TOTAL RELIANCE OF THE EUROPEANS ON THE USG FOR ASSESSMENTS OF THE THREAT PRESENTED BY VARIOUS SOVIET SYSTEMS (E.G., THE SS20) AND OF THE EFFICACY OF ALLIED SYSTEMS LIKE THE CRUISE MISSILE LEADS TO SUSPICION NO MATTER HOW UNFOUNDED, THAT THE U.S. MAY BE SHAPING ASSESSMENTS TO SERVE ITS OWN PURPOSES. OUR INTERLOCUTOR' THOUGHT WAS THAT U.S. ASSESSMENTS WOULD TAKE ON ADDED
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PERSUASIVENESS IF BACKED UP BY THE FINDINGS OF A MORE-OR-LESS INDEPENDENT NATO SYSTEMS ANALYSIS UNIT.

6. WE DO NOT SUGGEST THAT WASHINGTON RAISE THESE OR ANY OTHER SPECIFIC SUGGESTIONS DURING THE UPCOMING BILATERALS ON GREY AREAS WITH THE UK, FRG AND FRANCE. WE DO THINK, HOWEVER, THAT THE INSTITUTIONAL ASPECT MIGHT BE RAISED IN A GENERAL WAY WITH AT LEAST THE UK AND FRG IN ORDER TO STIMULATE AN INTERCHANGE OF IDEAS ON POSSIBLE DEVICES WHICH MIGHT ASSIST IN MOVING AHEAD IN THE DIALOGUE AMONG THE ALLIES ON HOW TO DEAL WITH GREY AREA SYSTEMS.
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: SALT (ARMS CONTROL), NEGOTIATIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 24 jun 1978
Decaption Date: 20 Mar 2014
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978STATE161470
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: ACDA/ISP:RNURICK:OJF
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780263-0314
Format: TEL
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions:
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780623/aaaaatra.tel
Line Count: 148
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 3a361782-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ORIGIN SS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 29 jun 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2218342
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: SALT AND GREY AREA SYSTEMS SUMMARY: THE STRATEGIC DEBATE WHICH OPENED, OR AT LEAST SURFACED, WITH CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT'S IISS SPEECH OF
TAGS: PARM, US, UR, GE
To: GENEVA
Type: TE
vdkgvkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/3a361782-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014